

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ERDA-05

AID-05 CEA-01 CIEP-01 COME-00 EB-07 FEAE-00 FPC-01

INT-05 OMB-01 OES-06 STR-04 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 CU-02

VO-03 PPT-01 SCA-01 BIB-01 /116 W

-----141713Z 044809 /44

O R 141400Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7705

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0144

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HU, CSCE

SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN  
BILATERAL RELATIONS

REF: A. STATE 006994 (NOTAL), B. 76 BUDAPEST 4235,

C. 76 STATE 307305

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY FINDS HUNGARIAN CSCE PROPOSALS FALL  
INTO THREE CATEGORIES: CONFIRMATORY, CONSTRUCTIVE AND  
TACTICAL. THEY CONTAIN ONLY ONE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE  
PROPOSAL - THAT US WITHDRAW FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR RFE -  
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AND MANY WHICH DESERVE STUDY WITH A VIEW TOWARDS EARLY  
DEVELOPMENT. WHILE PROPOSALS WE RECEIVED ARE SIMILAR TO  
THOSE RECEIVED BY OTHER WESTERN NATIONS, OURS UNIQUELY  
CONTAIN REFERENCE TO RAISING POLITICAL RELATIONS TO A  
HIGHER LEVEL AND TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION. SOME GOH  
PROPOSALS ARE OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED PLEASE SOVIETS BULD  
OTHERS, PARTICULARLY RE BASKET III, MAY WIDEN GAP BETWEEN

HUNGARIAN AND SOVIET PRACTICE. CHARGE WILL PRESENT US PROPOSALS TO DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JANUARY 19. END GSUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY PLACES PROPOSALS BY GOH TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN ITS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH USG INTO THREE CATEGORIES: (A) CONFIRMATORY PROPOSALS, THAT IS, PROPOSALS IN AREAS WHERE SIGNIFICANT COOPERATION ALREADY UNDERWAY; (B) CONSTRUCTIVE NEW PROPOSALS; AND (C) TACTICAL PROPOSALS, I.E., PROPOSALS WHICH GOH RECOGNIZES A PRIORI LIKELY TO BE REJECTED AND WHICH CAN SERVE AS FOIL FOR THOSE WESTERN PROPOSALS WHICH GOH UNWILLING HAND/OR INCAPABLE OF ACCEPTING.

3. CONFIRMATORY PROPOSALS, WITH NUMBERS KEYED TO PARAGRAPHS IN HUNGARIAN PAPER PRESENTED TO US DECEMBER MWQN ARE FOLLOWING:

B2 - EXPLORING NEW FIELDS OF ECONOMIC AND INTER-FIRM COOPERATION;

B3 - PORTION CONCERNING CONTACTS BETWEEN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE;

B4 - AGREEMENT ON DOUBLE TAXATION;

C4 - FAMILY REUNIFICATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH SPIRIT OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT;

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C6 - EXCHANGES BETWEEN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES;

C7 - EXPANSION OF CONTACTS ON IMPRESSARIOISEVEL;

C8 - FILM COOPERATION;

C9 - TRANSLATION OF LITERARY WORKS;

C11 - ENGLISH-SPEAKING HUNGARIAN LECTURERS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES;

C13 - BOOK EXCHANGES;

C15 - DETERMINING EQUIVALENCE OF ACADEMIC DEGREES.

4. CONSTRUCTIVE NEW PROPOSALS:

A1 - CONTINUING EXCHANGES ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION;

A2 - RAISING POLITICAL RELATIONS TO A HIGHER LEVEL  
AND CARRYING OUT PERIODIC EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL  
ISSUES;

A5 - DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACTS BETWEEN LEGISLATIVE BODIES  
OF TWO COUNTRIES;

B3 - PORTION OF PROPOSAL SUGGESTING PROMOTION OF DIRECT  
CONTACTS BETWEEN ENTERPRISES AND MANAGERS (CORRESPONDING  
TO PROPOSAL USG INTENDS TO MAKE);

B5 - ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION;

C2 - ABOLISHING VISAS FOR HOLDERS OF DIPLOMATIC AND  
OFFICIAL PASSPORTS (MAY BE ONLY TACTICAL SINCE GOH KNOWS  
WE CANNOT AGREE UNDER PRESENT US LAW BUT ON OTHER HAND MAY  
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INDICATE THAT GOH IS AMENABLE TO EXTENSION OF  
VALIDITY AND PROVISION FOR MULTIPLE ENTRY VISAS FOR US  
TDY OFFICIALS);

C3- ISSUANCE OF TOURIST AND TRANSIT VISAS WITHIN  
48 HOURS (AS PREVIOUS PROPOSAL, THIS CAN BE VIEWED AS BOTH  
TACTICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE);

C5 - FACILITATION OF VISAS FOR JOURNALISTS, ACCREDITA-  
TION OF RADIO REPORTERS, AND FACILITATION OF ACTIVITIES OF  
RADIO REPORTERS;

C14 - COOPERATION IN FIELD OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND  
MEDICAL RESEARCH;

C16 - SUPPORTING ESTABLISHMENT OF EUROPEAN BANK OF  
CULTURAL DATA AND INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR OF EVENTS.

5.GM TACTICAL PROPOSALS:

A3 - TO INCORPORATE PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT IN THE  
AGREEMENTS BETWEEN GOH AND USG;

A4 - US WITHDRAWAL OF SPECIAL SUPPORT FROM RFE;

B1 - CONTINUING USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON ECONOMIC  
COOPERATION AND BY US WITHDRAWING GATT RESERVATIONS OPENING  
WAY TO MFN (WHILE LARGELY TACTICAL IN THESE TERMS LANGUAGE  
IS CONSISTENT WITH VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MFA AS REPORTED  
BUDAPEST 0116);

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ERDA-05  
AID-05 CEA-01 CIEP-01 COME-00 EB-07 FEAE-00 FPC-01  
INT-05 OMB-01 OES-06 STR-04 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 CU-02  
SCA-01 VO-03 PPT-01 BIB-01 /116 W  
-----141713Z 043264 /43

O R 141400Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC IMMEDIATE 7706  
INFO: RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADEIBQUTU  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 0144 FINAL SECTION OF 2.

B6 - PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFEREN  
CES ON ENERGY,  
TRANSPORTATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION;  
C1 - AGREEMENT ON TOURISM;  
C10 - COORDINATING CONTENTS OF TEXTBOOKS;  
C12 - COORDINATING MATERIALS ON EACH OTHER'S COUNTRIES  
WHICH IS TO BE PUBLISHED IN ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

6. EMBASSY HAS RECENTLY COMPLETED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS  
OF HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS MADE TO US, UK, FRANCE, FRG, SWITZER-  
LAND, DENMARK AND BELGIUM, WHICH WILL BE FORWARDED BY  
AIRGRAM. HOWEVER, SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM THAT ANALYSIS ARE  
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RELEVANT IN INTERPRETING SIGNIFICANCE OF PROPOSALS MADE TO US. PROPOSALS TO ALL SEVEN COUNTRIES ARE VERY SIMILAR, OBVIOUSLY FOLLOWING ONE BASIC MODEL. ONLY IN US CASE WAS SUGGESTION MADE TO RAISE LEVEL OF POLITICAL RELATIONS WHICH NOT ONLY REFLECTS FACT THAT FOREIGN MINISTER, PRIME MINISTERS OR HEADS OF STATE OF MOST OF OTHER WESTERN STATES HAVE VISITED HUNGARY, BUT ALSO DROUGHT PERIOD IN US-GOH RELATIONS (1956-1972). REFERENCE TO FJILY REUNIFICATION PROPOSALS IN HELSINKI PACT WAS ONLY CONTAINED IN HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS TO US. WITH FRANCE, UK AND FRG, HUNGARIANS RAISED ISSUE OF EXPANDED DISTRIBUTION OF PRESS MATERIALS BUT NOT WITH US. IN ADDITION THESE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES, OTHERS WERE INCORPORATED REFLECTING SOME TAILORING TO STATUS OF GOH POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH EACH COUNTRY AS WELL AS THEIR SIZE AND IMPORTANCE.

7. EMBASSY CONCLUDES THAT, ON THE WHOLE, HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS ARE RATHER CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESIGNED TO FACILITATE FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT. WHILE THEY OBVIOUSLY PUT BEST FACE ON HUNGARIAN ACTIONS SO FAR, SKIRT SOME SENSITIVE AREAS AND PROD US ON ITS SOFT POINTS, THEY CONTAIN MANY AREAS WE MAY EXPLOIT FOR OUR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. EMBASSY WELCOMES IDEA OF GREATER EXCHANGES WITH MFA ON INTERNATIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES. WE NOTE WITH INTEREST PROPOSAL ON EXCHANGE OF PARLIAMENTARY

DELIGATIONS WHICH COULD PROVIDE OPENING FOR INFORMAL OR OTHER EXCHANGES WITH MEMBERS OF CSCE COMMISSION. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH GOH ON ITS SIDE LIMITED BY PRACTICAL AND FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS, EXTENDING FULL PANOPLY OF COURTESIES FOR HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENTARIAN VISIT MIGHT POSE A PROBLEM FOR USG AS WELL. ON BASIS OF HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS TO OTHER COUNTRIES AND PREVIOUS INDICATIONS TO US, WE CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR SOME GOH WILLINGNESS EXPAND DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN PRESS PUBLICATIONS. THOUGH SOME OF PROPOSALS LISTED ABOVE AS CONSTRUCTIVE ARE OF LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MAJORITY OF THEM SEEM TO PRESENT POSSIBILITIES FOR ADVANCING OUR RELATIONS IN HELSINKI CONTEXT. AMONG PROPOSALS WE REGARD AS TACTICAL EMBASSY FEELS ONLY THE ONE TO WITHDRAW US SUPPORT FROM RFE NEEDS TO BE COMPLETELY REJECTED - AS DISTINCT FROM PARRIED.

8. HUNGARIANS -- OBVIOUSLY CONSISTENT WITH SOVIET OBJECTIVES -- WISH TO ESTABLISH GOOD RECORD ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION PRIOR TO BELGRADE 1977. IN THEIR OWN INTEREST, HOWEVER, THEY ARE APPARENTLY ALSO SEEKING TO NURTURE GUARDED LIBERALISM ON BASKET III ITEMS, FOSTER EXPANDED ECONOMIC COCONTACTS WITH WEST, AND EXHIBIT CAUTIOUS FLEXIBILITY ON

EXPANDING POLITICAL RELATIONS. THEIR PROPOSALS TO US ON PLACING REFERENCE TO FINAL ACT IN AGREEMENTS BETWEEN USG AND GOH, ON SUPPORTING THREE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES SUGGESTED BY BREZHNEV, AND THEIR CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTION OF PRESS MATERIALS, AS ONE MIGHT EXPECT, ARE HAND-TAILORED FOR THE SOVIET UNION. AT SAME TIME THEIR SUGGESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO OTHER PROPOSALS RELATING TO FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, WILLINGNESS EXPAND TRAVEL, ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF NEED FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND DESIRE FOR INCREASED CULTURAL EXCHANGES ALL SERVE TO WIDEN THE GAP BETWEEN HUNGARY'S MORE LIBERAL AND THE SOVIET UNIONS'S MORE RESTRICTIVE POLICIES.

9. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL OFFICER, HAS APPOINTMENT WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER DENOS NAGY ON JANUARY 19, AT WHICH TIME HE WILL PRESENT US PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI FINAL ACT AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL C. HE DOES NOT INTEND DISCUSS HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS EXCEPT IN MOST GENERAL TERMS. EMBASSY'S CONSULAR OFFICER ALSO HAS ASKED MFA CONSULAR DEPARTMENT FOR APPOINTMENT NEXT WEEK TO FORMALLY PRESENT USG PROPOSAL PER PARA 2A REFTEL C FOR RECIPROCAL ISSUANCE OF MULTIPLE ENTRY VISAS TO DIPLOMATS AND OFFICIAL VISITORS WHO MUST MAKE TEMPORARY VISITS TO ONE ANOTHER'S COUNTRIES PERIODICALLY. USIS CONTINUES TO WORK ON IMPLEMENTATION OF CULTURAL AGREEMENT. WE INTEND NO OTHER ACTIVITY ON CSCE-RELATED INITIATIVES UNTIL AFTER SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH NAGY, PRESUMABLY IN FEBRUARY, AT WHICH TIME WE WOULD ENVISAGE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON PROPOSALS TWO COUNTRIES HAVE PUT FORWARD THUS FAR.

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MENTATION OF CULTURAL AGREEMENT. WE INTEND NO OTHER ACTIVITY ON CSCE-RELATED INITIATIVES UNTIL AFTER SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH NAGY, PRESUMABLY IN FEBRUARY, AT WHICH TIME WE WOULD ENVISAGE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON PROPOSALS TWO COUNTRIES HAVE PUT FORWARD THUS FAR.

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, HU, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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